4: Watson E-5 (1943) 1944 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Notes on the Kinship System of the Cayua Indians
[Notas sobre o sistema de parentesco dos índios cayuá]

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101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of 241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today, 36 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations 65 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on 101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil 361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not [162] know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

175 /31 cont./
797 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
361 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
162 Indians (2).

[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
178 have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./
made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives outside of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language, admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the Brazilian settlements of Uniño and Nhu Verá, about two leagues from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí, Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca, gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that contain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians' territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

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412 /33 cont./
177 is missing in the original text./
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5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinction, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One [121] [174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./
114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113]

8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Births: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/35 cont./

843 and the husband. The woman must abstain from the use of beef, pork, and armadillo meat, just as she can not go into the husband's clearing, and in the last stages of the pregnancy the work that she is allowed to do is limited, even in the house. During the entire period she can not break up pieces of wood. The father, during this time, can not cut anything with a large knife or machete, he can not build anything either, such as, for instance, a fence, which would mean the use of cipo or of other material used for tying. If one fails to observe any of these restrictions, the child will be sickly all his life or might even die at birth.

844 No man is present at the birth of a child, although the father stays quite close, accompanied in general by at least one other man, who will be his close relative. The woman is assisted by one or several women. One of them is one of the few old women of the community who are well known for their knowledge in these things. There might also be present sisters or the mother of the woman in labor, if she has them. The umbilical cord is cut at a length of about six centimeters and then buried. It must be cut with /36/ a sliver of bamboo, because in case scissors or knife were used, the child would lose much blood. The midwife puts [465] a remedy on the wound, in order for it to heal quickly. The midwife is paid for her services, receiving a relatively modest sum when she is a close relative or friend of the couple, and a somewhat larger one when she is not a relative or a close friend.

845 The birth of twins seems to be a very rare occurrence, which is not considered a good thing. Twins had been born a little before the author's arrival in Taquapirí, and it was said that the mother had killed one of them. The beliefs concerning twins are not very clear.

553 Giving the name: It seems that there is no definite time for giving the child a name, which, nevertheless, is usually given during the first year of life -- between eight and twelve months of age. On the night chosen for the ceremony the parents take the child to the house of the person in whose presence the name is to be given to the child, when the cock crows the first time, generally around midnight. The parents enter the house, seating

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of [177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These [178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach- [423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/37 cont./
000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
[252] munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
[869] there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

/38 cont./

son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the restriction had not been observed. For this reason the man may ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent before his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays, however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the bad effects of the meat.

Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/ place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place, the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society. It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about
591 which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

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The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

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775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as [602] sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/42 cont./

603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grandchildren, but what they teach are things of a practical or technical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases
603 736 in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister: In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show [736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with [868] the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on which they will have to make their first clearings.

[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother: The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect toward the father's sister.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of another in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way,
602 a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
433
182

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582 9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação
604 dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil
[113] /Information about the marriages of the
Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures
organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and
mimeographed by the Escola Livre de
Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113] 10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena
/Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908,
p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

/45 cont./
124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain [114] confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

/46/

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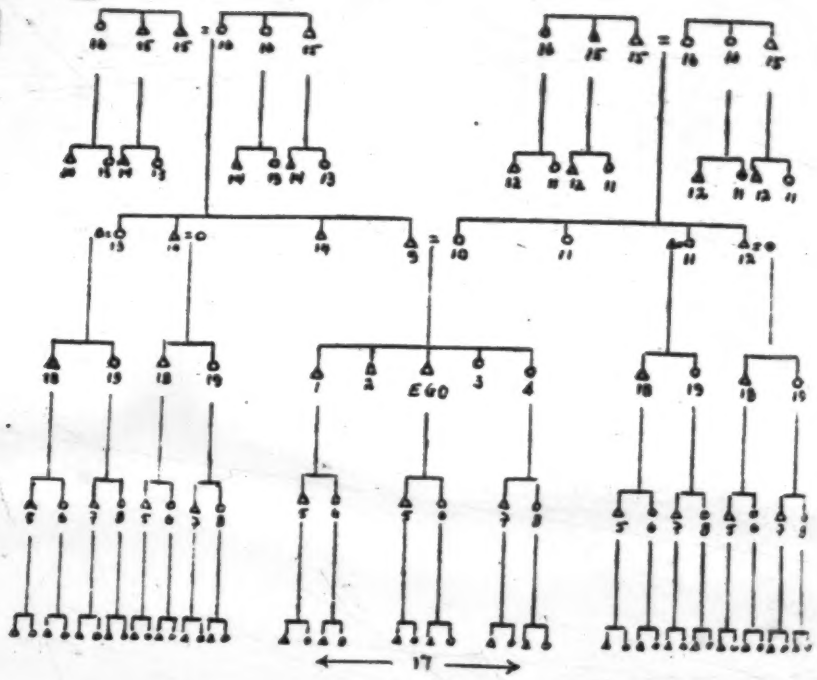

Chart I

The Cayuá Terms Mentioned in Chart IV$_A$[1]

In this chart Ego is male. When Ego is female, son and daughter are nephew and niece, while nephew and niece become son and daughter. The circle signifies woman, the triangle, man. Two parallel lines indicate matrimonial ties.

Meaning of the numbers

1. older brother
2. younger brother
3. older sister
4. younger sister
5. son
6. daughter
7. nephew
8. niece
9. mother
10. father
11. mother's sister
12. mother's brother
13. father's sister
14. father's brother
15. grandfather
16. grandmother
17. grandsons and granddaughters
18. brother
19. sister

[1] [see pp. 22 and 23 -- analyst]

601 /47/

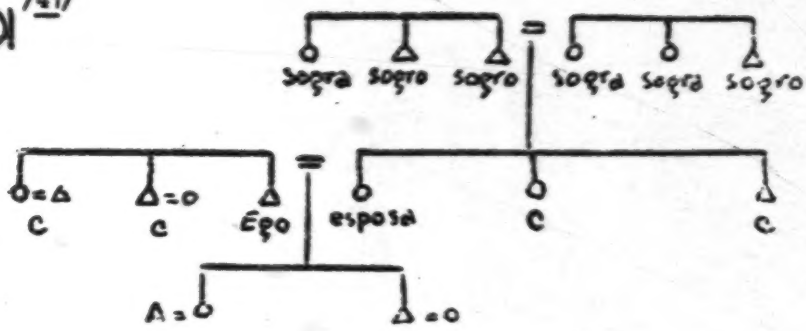

Chart II

Designations for the affinal relatives, Ego being a man. See the Cayuá terms in Chart IV.

c = cunhado(s) /brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex); f.a. = child by affinity (without distinction as to sex). /Sogra = mother-in-law; sogro = father-in-law; esposa = wife./

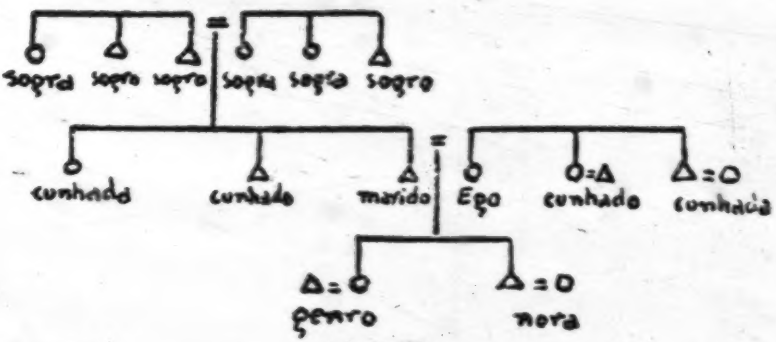

Chart III

Designations for affinal relatives, Ego being a woman. See the Cayuá terms in Chart IV. /Sogra = mother-in-law; sogro = father-in-law; cunhada = sister-in-law; cunhado = brother-in-law; marido = husband; genro = son-in-law; nora = daughter-in-law./

/48/ Chart IV

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Che-rywý	younger brother, a man speaking
Che-rykeý	older brother, a man speaking
Che-rendý	older sister, a man speaking
Che-rendý-minĩ	younger sister, a man speaking
Che-ru	father
Che-sy	mother
Che-ruwý	father's brother
Che-syý	mother's sister
Che-djaiché	father's sister
Che-tutý	mother's brother
Che-ramõi	grandfather
Che-djarĩ	grandmother
Che-raý	son, a man speaking
Che-radjý	daughter, a man speaking
Che-rĩý	nephew, a man speaking
Che-atipé	niece, a man speaking
Che-ramianinõ	grandson and granddaughter
Che-rembirekõ	wife
Che-rowadjá	wife's brother and sister; sister's husband and brother's wife, a man speaking; anyone of those whom the wife calls sister or brother; husband's brother and sister's husband, a woman speaking; sometimes also "intimate friend."
Haĩ	wife's mother; sister of the wife's mother; sister of the wife's father
Ahẽ	wife's father; brother of the wife's father; brother of the wife's mother

/48 cont./

601

Che-kywý	older brother, a woman speaking
Che-kywykeý	younger brother, a woman speaking
Che-ruké	older sister, a woman speaking
Che-kypyý	younger sister, a woman speaking
Che-pẽ	nephew and niece, a woman speaking
Che-membý kwimbaé ..	son, a woman speaking
Che-membý kuñã	daughter, a woman speaking
Che-mẽ	husband
Che-rukeí	husband's sister; brother's wife, a woman speaking
Che-peú	daughter's husband, a woman speaking
Che-wãchá	son's wife; daughter's husband, a man speaking
Che-mendúa	husband's father; brother of the husband's father; brother of the husband's mother
Che-mensý	husband's mother; sister of the husband's mother; sister of the husband's father

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Final note: The phonetic value of all the letters corresponds to the Portuguese, with the exception of h, which is aspirated as in the English word have, of w, which is pronounced as in the English word water, and of y, a peculiar sound of the Tupi languages, in which it appears, for example, in the word y, water. The prefix che is the possessive of the first person singular.